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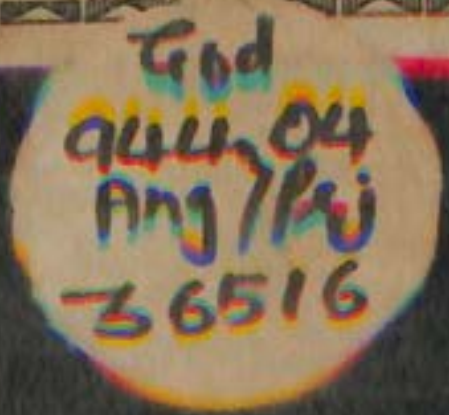
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TOWER OF THE TEMPLE.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS,

FORMING,

WITH THE WORKS OF M. HUE,

AND

CLERY'S JOURNAL,

36516

A COMPLETE

HISTORY OF THE CAPTIVITY

OF THE

ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE,

IN THE

TOWER OF THE TEMPLE.

...alone, with all my heart, those who are my enemies. (Testament of the King.)
...ask all they can against the evil they have done to me. (Letter from the Queen.)
...my God I pardon those who have caused the death of my parents.
(Traced upon the walls of the Temple by the august Daughter of Louis XVI.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

EDINBURGH:
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1817.

XVI.10

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Memoirs, which are well ascertained to have been written by the Duchess d Angoulême, were translated into English prior to the knowledge of any other translation being attempted. To preserve the characteristic simplicity of the original has been the chief aim of the present Translator.

ADVERTISEMENT

BY

THE FRENCH EDITOR.

THE Memoirs which we now offer to the public, cannot fail to excite interest. Nothing that recals the virtues of Louis XVI. or retraces his misfortunes, has for a long time been viewed with indifference. The heart swells at the recital of the persecutions he suffered; yet, far from seeking to avoid this painful feeling, it possesses a charm, because, with

the heart-rending picture of the trials of a martyr, you receive such affecting examples of patience and resignation, that admiration is mingled with the tears of tenderness and pity.

Independent of the general interest which any particulars relative to the family of our monarchs must excite, these Memoirs have the advantage of forming, with the works already published, a complete history of the captivity of the Royal Family in the Tower of the Temple. The only works respecting them which can inspire perfect confidence, are the Journal of Clery, and the work of M. Hue; but Hue was not a witness of any events after the 2d of September, and

Clery has not carried his journal beyond the death of his master. After that epoch, no ocular witness has informed us of what passed in the interior of the Temple. It became, therefore, peculiarly interesting to have this want supplied, and it is completely accomplished by these Memoirs.

There will be found in them many particulars already published in the works we have mentioned; but they are repetitions that cannot be avoided in a narrative of the same events, and, besides, they always give some new information. There are also many passages which might be obscure, if they had not been explained more at length in these works; and we

ought to mention, that we have preferred referring for information to the works of Huc and Clery, than to explanations by notes, to which these works should have served as a text.

But it may be asked, what confidence do these Memoirs merit, when the author is unknown? We have foreseen the objection, and all we shall say in answer is, that, were we permitted to declare the author, we should have no occasion to recommend the book; it would appear above all eulogium, and its value would have no measure, but the attachment of good Frenchmen to that family, a part of whose sufferings it describes.

We ought, however, to add, that these

Memoirs were written a short time after the events, and that, when they were thrown on paper, it was far from being imagined, that they would one day be given to the public; or that any but a small number of friends would be affected by the simple description of the persecution of the most virtuous of kings—of the most courageous of queens—and of a child, who, in another age, would have carried in his cradle the happy destinies of France.

It is not *surprising* that there are some negligences of style in these Memoirs. These negligencies attest the truth of the narration, and we have, therefore, allowed them to remain.

As we did not wish to make a book, but merely to publish Memoirs, we have been very careful not to make alterations.

Rue Charlot
Rue Beaujolais
Rotunda
Court of the Temple
Tower of the Temple
Garden
Palace of the Temple
Rue du Temple

PRIVATE MEMOIRS,

&c. &c.

THE king arrived at the Temple, with his family, on the 15th of August 1792, at seven in the evening. The cannoniers wished to conduct him alone to the Tower, and leave the other prisoners at the Castle; but Manuel received orders on the way, to conduct all the family to the Tower. Petion calmed the rage of the cannoniers, and the order was executed. Petion went away, but Manuel remained, and the municipaux * kept the king in sight. He

* Municipal officers.

supped with his family. The Dauphin was overpowered with sleep, and Madame de Tourzel conveyed him, at eleven o'clock, to the Tower, which, it was determined, should be the common dwelling. The king was conducted there with the rest of his family, at one o'clock in the morning. Nothing had been prepared. Madame Elizabeth slept in the kitchen, and it was pretended that Manuel appeared ashamed to conduct her there.

The names of the persons who were shut up with the royal family in this sad abode, were Madame la Princesse de Lamballe, Madame de Tourzel, and Pauline, her daughter; MM. Hue and Chamilly, who both slept in a chamber above. They waited on the king. Madame de Navarre, femme-de-chambre to Madame Elizabeth, who slept in the kitchen with her, and also Pauline. Madame Sainte-Brice,

femme-de-chambre to the Dauphin; she slept in the billiard-room with him and Madame de Tourzel. Madame Thibaut, who waited on the queen, and Madame Bazire, to Madame Royale; both slept below. The king had three men to attend him, Turgis, Crétien, and Marchand.

In the morning, the Dauphin came to breakfast with his mother, and afterwards all the family went to see the great halls of the Temple, where they learned they were hereafter to lodge, as the turret was too small for so great a number. The next day Manuel and Santerre having come, the prisoners took a walk in the garden. They murmured much at the women who had followed the royal family.

On the arrival of the family, they had found others named by Petion to wait upon them, and the next day a decree was brought from

the Commune, which ordered the departure of those who had come with them; but the king and queen having formally remonstrated against it, and also the municipaux, who had the guard of the Temple, the order was revoked for the moment.

All the persons of the royal family passed the day together. The king taught his son geography; the queen read history with him, and taught him to repeat verses, and Madame Elizabeth gave him lessons in arithmetic. The king happily found a library, which occupied him, and the queen worked tapestry. The municipaux were very familiar, and showed but little respect for the king. One of them always remained, and kept the king in sight. His majesty demanded a man and woman to do the common work.

During the night of the 19th and 20th of

August, they brought a new decree of the Commune, ordering all those who were not of the royal family, to be removed from the Temple. They carried off MM. Hue and Chamilly from the king, who remained alone with a municipal. They then went to take away Madame la Princesse de Lamballe. The queen opposed it strongly, saying, what was true, that this princess was of the royal family; but, notwithstanding, they led her away. Madame Elizabeth went down with Madame de Navarre and Pauline de Tourzel to the municipaux, who assured her these ladies would return after being interrogated. The Dauphin was brought to the apartment of his mother, that he might not be left alone. The queen could not tear herself from the arms of Madame de Lamballe. The princesses embraced her, trusting to see her the next day, and passed

the night without sleep. The king, though awake, remained in his apartment, and the municipaux did not leave him.

The next day, at seven o'clock, their majesties learned that the ladies would not return to the Temple, and that they had been conveyed to the prison of La Force. At nine, they were extremely astonished to see M. Hue enter, who said, that the General Council having found him innocent, had sent him back to the Temple.

After dinner, Petion sent a man and a woman, named Tison, to do the common work. The queen took her son to her apartment, and sent her daughter with Madame Elizabeth. She was only separated from her children by a small chamber, in which a municipal and a sentinel were stationed. The king remained above, but having learned that they were prepar-

ing an apartment for him, where he would be more removed from his family, he sent for Palloi, the master of the workmen, in order to stop the preparations; but Palloi answered insolently, that he took no orders but from the Commune.

The princesses went up every morning to breakfast with his majesty, and after it, they all returned to the chamber of the queen, where the king passed the day. The family walked daily in the garden for the health of the young prince. The king was always insulted by the guard. The day of St Louis, they sung *Ca Ira* close to the Temple.

In the morning, they learned by a municipal that M. de la Fayette had left France. In the evening Manuel confirmed this news, and brought Madame Elizabeth a letter from her aunt at Rome. It was the last that the family

received from abroad. Louis XVI. was no longer called king; they showed him no respect; they said no more *Sire*, nor your Majesty, but Monsieur, or Louis; the municipaux always sat in his chamber with their hats on. They took his sword from him, and searched his pockets.

Petion sent Clery, who had formerly belonged to the king, to wait upon him; but, at the same time, he sent as gaoler that horrible man who had forced his door on the 20th of June, with the design of assassinating him. This man was always in the Tower, and tried every means of tormenting. Sometimes he sung before the royal family the *Carmagnole*, and a thousand other horrors. Sometimes, knowing that the queen did not like the odour of tobacco, he would blow a puff of it at the king and her as they passed. He was always in bed

when the family went to theirs, because they were obliged to pass through his chamber; sometimes he was even in bed when they went to dinner: in fine, there was no sort of torment he did not invent. The king suffered all with mildness, pardoning truly these offences. As to the queen, she supported them with a dignity that often imposed respect. The garden was full of workmen, who often used abusive language to the king. One of them boasted before him of wishing to cut off the head of the queen with his tool. Petion, however, made him be arrested. These insults redoubled on the 2d of September; they even threw stones at the king through the windows, which happily did not touch him, but, at the same time, a woman, with a benevolent design, wrote upon a large card, "Verdun is taken." She put the card to the window, and Madame Elizabeth

had time to read it without being perceived by the municipaux. Scarcely had the king learned this news, when a new municipal, named Mathieu, arrived. He was inflamed with rage, and, on entering, desired the king to return to his chamber with him. All the royal family followed, fearing it was intended to separate them from the king. When they had ascended, Mathieu found M. Huc, whom he seized by the collar, saying that he arrested him. M. Huc, with the view of gaining time to receive the orders of their majesties, requested leave to pack up his clothes. Mathieu refused, but another municipal, more humane, consented. Mathieu then turned towards the king, and poured out all that the basest rage could suggest. Amongst other things, he said, "La générale has beat,—the tocsin has sounded,—the alarm cannon are ready to fire,—the emigrants are at Verdun;—

if they come we shall all perish, but you shall perish the first." The king listened to his outrageous language with the tranquillity that hope inspires. The Dauphin burst into tears, and fled into another apartment. Madame Royale ran to him, and it was with the utmost difficulty she could calm and console him, for he believed that he already saw his father dead. M. Hue returned, and after Mathieu had again renewed his invectives, they departed. Happily M. Hue was conducted to the Mayoralty, for the massacre had already begun at the Abbaye. He remained a month in prison, and, after he came out, he did not return to the Temple. All the municipaux condemned the violent conduct of Mathieu, but they could do nothing but disapprove. They told Louis XVI. that the public believed that the King of Prussia marched his army, and killed every Frenchman, by an order

signed *Louis*. There was no calumny which they did not invent, even the most ridiculous and impossible. The queen, who could not sleep, heard all night the générale beat, but in the Tower they knew not for what.

The 3d of September, at eight in the morning, Manuel came to the king, and assured him that Madame de Lamballe, and all the persons who had been taken from the Temple, were well, and that they were altogether in tranquillity at La Force. At three o'clock frightful cries were heard, when the king, rising from table, went to play at tric-trac with the queen, in order to appear composed, and to say a few words to her without being overheard. The municipal who kept guard in the chamber behaved well. He shut the door and the window, and also the curtains, that they might see nothing; but the workmen around the Temple, and the gaoler,

Rocher, joined the assassins, which augmented the noise. Many officers of the guards and of the municipality arrived. They first wished that the king should show himself at the windows, but the latter happily opposed it. The king having asked what was passing, a young officer said to him, " Well, since you desire to know, it is the head of Madame de Lamballe that they wish to show you." At this intelligence the queen was seized with horror; it was the only moment in which her firmness abandoned her. The municipaux were displeased with the officer, but Louis XVI. with his usual goodness excused him, saying, that it was not the fault of the officer, but his own, as he had interrogated him. The noise continued till five o'clock. The prisoners knew that the people had wished to force the gates, and the municipaux could only prevent it by putting a tri-coloured scarf across,

and by permitting six of the populace to make the circuit of the Tower with the head of Madame de Lamballe, on condition that they should leave at the gate the body, which they wished to drag round. When the deputation entered, Rocher uttered cries of joy on seeing the head of Madame de Lamballe, and scolded a young man, who, seized with horror, became ill on beholding this spectacle.

Hardly was it over, when Petion, in place of attempting to stop the massacre, coolly sent his secretary to the King to deliver money. This man was very ridiculous, and said many things that would have been laughable at any other time. He believed that the queen stood from respect to him, but since that frightful scene, she had remained standing, immoveable, seeing nothing that passed around her. The municipal who had sacrificed his scarf to put

across the gate, made Clery repay it. The générale beat through the whole night, and the princesses, who could not sleep, heard unceasingly the sobs of the queen. They believed in the Tower that the massacre had ceased that day, and it was not till some time after that they learned it had lasted three days.

It is impossible to relate all the scenes that took place, arising equally from the municipaux and the guard, whose fears were excited by every thing, in proportion as they felt themselves guilty. One day a man having, in the interior of the Temple, fired a musket in order to try it, they drew out a procès-verbal on the occurrence after having carefully interrogated the man. Another time, during supper, there was a cry "To arms." They imagined the foreign troops had arrived. The horrible Rocher took his great sabre, and said to the king, "If

they come, I kill thee." It was only, however, some confusion among the patroles. About a hundred workmen, led by some one devoted to the royal family, attempted to force the grate on the side of the Rotunda. The municipaux and guards flew there,—the workmen were dispersed; and some of them, alas! probably fell victims. The severity of the municipaux increased daily. There were, however, two of them who softened the sufferings of the august prisoners, by showing sensibility, and giving them hope. There was also a sentinel who, through the key-hole of the door, had a conversation with Madame Elizabeth. This unfortunate man did nothing but weep all the time he was in the Temple. May heaven have recompensed him for his attachment to his king!

Madame Royale was learning rules of arithmetic, and the queen wrote lessons for her, but

there was always a municipal looking over their shoulders, so great was the fear of a conspiracy. They deprived the prisoners of newspapers, as they did not wish them to be acquainted with foreign news; but one day they brought a newspaper to the king, saying it contained something interesting.—O horror!—He read there, that a cannonier demanded the head of the tyrant Louis XVI. to charge his piece with, and send it to the enemy. The calm silence and contempt of the king disappointed the joy they had felt in bringing this infernal writing. A municipal also came in the evening, and uttered a thousand abusive expressions, and repeated, what had already been said, that all the royal family should perish, if the enemy approached. He added, that he only felt pity for the child, but that, as he was the son of a

tyrant, he ought to die with the others. Such were the daily occurrences.

The republic was established the 22d of September. The prisoners were told of it with joy, and were also informed of the departure of the foreign troops.

At the beginning of October, the prisoners were deprived of paper, pens, ink, and pencils. They searched for them every where, even with rigour; yet it did not prevent the queen and madame from concealing some pencils, which they kept. The same evening, as the king was going to supper, they told him to wait, as he must go to another apartment, and be separated from his family. At this terrible news the queen lost her courage and ordinary firmness. The princesses parted from him with many tears, though still hoping to see him again. The next day a separate breakfast was

brought to them. The queen would take nothing. The municipaux, disturbed and alarmed by her grief, permitted the princesses to see the king, but only at the hours of repast, prohibiting them from speaking low or in any foreign language, but aloud, *in good French.* They descended to dine with the king, in extreme joy to see him again. A municipal, who perceived that Madame Elizabeth had spoken low to the king, attacked her violently upon it. In the evening, when the Dauphin went to bed, the queen or her sister went with him, and the other supped with Madame Royale in the king's apartment. In the morning after breakfast, the princesses remained there, while Clery combed their hair, as he could no longer come to the queen's apartment, and thus they gained a few moments longer stay with the king. Every day at noon they all walked in the garden.

One day Manuel came to his majesty, and rudely took from him his Cordon Rouge.* He assured the king, that none of the persons who had been in the Temple had suffered, except Madame de Lamballe. Clery, Tison, and his wife, were obliged to take the oath to be faithful to the nation. A municipal coming one evening, roughly awaked the Dauphin, to ascertain his being there. On this occasion, the queen showed the only feeling of impatience she had ever discovered to the municipaux. Another municipal told her it was not the intention of Petion to take the life of the king, but to imprison him for life with his son, in the castle of Chambord. I know not what was the design

* A red ribband of the order of the Holy Ghost, or of Saint Louis, and to which is attached the cross of Saint Louis.

of this man in communicating this project, for he never returned. The king lodged in an apartment below that of Marie-Antoinette; their son slept in the lowest apartment, where Cléry lodged, also with a municipal. The windows were walled up with bars of iron, and light admitted from the top. The chimneys had stoves, and smoked extremely.

The king rose at seven, and passed an hour in prayer. He and the Dauphin then dressed, and at nine they came to breakfast with the queen. After breakfast, the king gave lessons to the Dauphin till eleven, and then the child played till the hour at which all the family went to walk, which they did whatever was the state of the weather, because the guard who were relieved at that time, wished to be assured of the presence of all the prisoners. The walk lasted till two, when they dined. After dinner,

their majesties played at tric-trac or piquet, that they might be able to exchange a few words. At four, the queen went up to her own apartment with her sister and children, as at that time the king generally slept. At six, the Dauphin went down to receive lessons from his father, and play till the hour of supper. At nine, after supper, the queen undressed and put him to bed, and the princesses returned to their room, but the king did not go to bed till eleven o'clock. The queen worked much at tapestry. She made Madame Royale study, and frequently heard her read aloud. Madame Elizabeth prayed often, and each day read the lesson. She read many devotional works, and the queen often requested her to read them aloud. The daily papers were restored to the royal family, that they might know of the departure of the foreign armies, and see the executions against

the king, of which the papers were full. One day they said to the princesses, "Ladies, we have good news to tell you; many emigrant traitors have been taken, and if you are good patriots you will rejoice." The queen, as usual, said nothing, and had even the air of not having heard them. Many times her calm disdain, and dignified expression, imposed respect; it was rarely to her that they dared to address themselves.

A deputation for the first time came to the king at the Temple. The members sent, asked if he had any complaints to make? He answered, "No," as he was content when he was with his family. Clery complained that the people were not paid who supplied what was required in the Temple. Chabot replied, "The nation is nearly reduced to a crown." The deputies who came were Chabot, Dupont, Drouet, and

Le Cointre-Puyravaux. They returned after dinner to ask the same questions. A day after, Drouet came alone, and asked the queen if she had no complaints to make? She made no reply.

Some time after, while the family were at dinner, two gendarmes entered, and seeing Clery, rudely ordered him to come to the tribunal. A few days before, Clery, coming down stairs with a municipal, met a young man of his acquaintance, who was one of the guard; they said, Good day, and shook hands. The municipal disliked this, and made the young man be arrested. It was to appear with him at the tribunal that Clery was sent for. The king asked if he would return? The municipaux assured him that he would not. He returned, notwithstanding, at midnight.

One day a great noise was heard in the Temple,

of people who demanded the heads of Louis and Marie-Antoinette. They had even the cruelty to allow their cries to be heard under the windows of the prisoners.

The king was seized with a severe cold, and they granted him a physician, Lemonnier, and his apothecary, Robert. The Commune was disturbed by his illness, and had every day a bulletin of his health. He recovered. All the family had colds, but the king's was the worst.

The Commune was changed the 2d of December. The new municipaux came to reconnoitre the royal family. Some days after, there was a decree of this new Commune, which ordered the departure of Clery and Tison; and to take from the prisoners knives, scissors, and every other sharp instrument. It was also ordered, that all the victuals they made use of

should be carefully tasted. A visit was made for the sharp instruments. The princesses gave their scissors.

The 11th of December, the beating of the drums, and the guards that arrived at the Temple, excited great uneasiness in the prisoners. The king descended with the young prince after breakfast. At eleven came Chambon and Chaumette; the one mayor, the other procureur général, of the Commune, and Colombeau, Secretaire-Greffier. They signified to his majesty the decree of the Convention, which ordered, that he should be brought to the bar to be interrogated. They promised to send the Dauphin to the apartment of the queen. Not having the decree of the Convention in their hands, they made the king wait two hours, and he did not set off till one o'clock. He went in the carriage of the mayor, with Chau-

mette and Colombeau, escorted by the municipaux on foot. The king having observed that Colombeau saluted many people, asked if they were all his friends? He replied, they were the brave citizens of the 10th of August, whom he never saw without great joy.

I do not speak of the conduct of Louis XVI. at the Convention; all the world knows it. His firmness, his meekness, his goodness, his courage in the midst of assassins thirsting for his blood, are traits which can never be forgotten, and that the remotest posterity will admire!

The king returned at six o'clock to the Tower of the Temple with the same retinue. His family had been in a state of anxiety which it is impossible to describe. The queen had made every effort to prevail on the municipaux on guard to inform her of what was passing. It

was the first time that she had deigned to question them. These men would tell her nothing, and it was not till the arrival of the king that she knew. When he returned, she immediately requested to see him. She asked it even of Chambon, and received no reply. The Dauphin passed the night in her chamber, and, as he had no bed, she gave him her's, and sat up the whole night, sunk in such deep distress, that the princesses did not wish to leave her,—but she obliged them to retire to bed. The next day she again entreated to see the king, and to read the public papers that she might see his trial. If she was not allowed to see the king, she requested that this permission might at least be granted to his son and daughter. They carried these requests to the General Council. The papers were refused, but they allowed the children to see their father,

on condition that they should be absolutely separated from their mother. This was communicated to the king, who said, that whatever pleasure he felt in seeing his children, the important affairs in which he was now engaged, would not permit him to occupy himself with his son, and that his daughter could not leave her mother. The bed of the Dauphin was then carried up to the chamber of the queen.

From the members of the Convention who came to see Louis XVI. he demanded counsellors, paper, ink, and razors to shave himself. All his demands were granted. MM. Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Desèze, who were allowed him as counsel, came to visit him. He was often obliged to go with them into the turret, to avoid being overheard. He went no more to the garden, nor did the princesses. He had no intelligence of them, and

they knew nothing of him, but by the municipaux. The young princess had an ailment in her foot, and her father, with his usual goodness, was distressed by it, and made anxious inquiries about her.

The family found in the Commune some men, who, by their humanity, softened their distresses. They assured the queen that the king would not suffer, and that his cause would be sent back to the Primary Assemblies, who would certainly save him.—Alas! they deceived themselves, or, from pity, they endeavoured to deceive her.

The 26th of December, the day of Saint Etienne, the king made his will, because he believed he should that day be assassinated in going to the bar of the Convention. He went there, however, with his usual calmness, and left to M. Desèze the care

of his defence. He set out at eleven, and returned at three. From that time he every day saw his counsel. At length, on the 18th of January, the day on which judgment was passed, the municipaux entered at eleven the chamber of the king, saying, that they had orders to keep him in sight. He asked if his fate was decided? They said, "No." The next morning M. de Malesherbes informed him that his sentence was pronounced: "But, Sire," he added, "the villains are not yet the masters, and all good men will come to save your majesty, or perish at your feet." "*M. de Malesherbes,*" said the king, "*that would involve many, and excite a civil war in Paris. I prefer death; and I pray you to command them from me to make no attempt to save me. The king dies not in France.*"

After this conference, he was no longer al-

lowed to see his counsel. He gave a note to the municipaux to request their return, and complaining of the restraint he was under by being guarded in sight. No attention was paid to these remonstrances.

Sunday the 20th of January, Garat, Minister of Justice, and the other members of the executive power, came to announce to him his sentence of death for the next day. The king listened with pious fortitude. He requested a delay of three days, that he might know what was to become of his family, and asked to have a Catholic confessor. The delay was refused. Garat assured him that there was no charge against his family, and that they would be sent out of France. He requested as his confessor the Abbé Edgeworth of Firmont, whose address he gave. Garat brought him. The king dined as he was accustomed to do, which sur-

prised many of the municipaux, who expected that he would wish to destroy himself. The family learned the sentence by the hawkers, who cried it under their windows at seven in the evening. A decree of the Convention permitted the princesses to see the king. They flew to his apartment, and found him much changed. He wept with grief for them,—not from the fear of death. He related his trial to the queen, excusing the wicked men who had condemned him. He told her that it had been wished to have recourse to the Primary Assemblies to save him, but that he did not desire it, because the measure would produce a civil war. He afterwards gave good and pious instructions to his son, recommending to him above all to pardon those who had caused his death. He bestowed his blessing upon him, and upon his daughter.

The queen earnestly desired that the family should remain all night with the king, but he opposed this, telling her, that he required tranquillity. She asked that he would at least allow them to return the next morning, which he granted, but after they were gone, he desired the guards not to allow them to return, as it would occasion him too much distress. He remained afterwards with his confessor, and retired to bed at midnight. He slept till five, when he was awoke by the drums. At six, the Abbé Edgeworth said mass, at which the king communicated. He set out at nine o'clock. In descending the stairs he gave his will to a municipal; he gave him also a sum of money which he had received from M. de Malesherbes, and begged it might be restored to him; but the municipaux kept it to themselves. He then met a gaoler, whom he

had spoken to rather keenly the evening before, and said to him, "Mathieu, I am sorry for having offended you." He read the prayer for the dying on the way. When arrived at the scaffold, he wished to address the people, but Santerre prevented him, by making the drums beat, so that what he said could only be heard by a few persons. He undressed himself without assistance; his hands were tied with his handkerchief, and not with cords. At the moment of his death, the Abbé said to him, "*Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven.*"

He received the fatal stroke the 21st of January 1793, ten minutes past ten in the morning. Thus perished Louis XVI. King of France, aged thirty-nine years, five months, and three days, after having reigned eighteen years. He had been in prison five months and eight days. Such were the most remarkable events

of his cruel captivity. In him were only to be seen piety, goodness, greatness of soul, meekness, patience, and fortitude in supporting the most iniquitous treatment,—the most horrible calumnies,—a clemency which led him to pardon from his heart his assassins,—the love of God, of his family, and his people,—a love of which he gave proofs to his last sigh, and for which he is gone to receive his recompence in the bosom of a God, all powerful and all merciful!

The morning of this terrible day the princesses rose at six. The preceding evening the queen had made an effort to undress and put her son to bed. She then threw herself on bed in her clothes, where we heard her all night trembling with cold and misery. A quarter past six they opened the door, and came to seek a book for the mass of the king. The prin-

cesses expected to descend, and they had always this hope, till the cries of joy of an unbridled populace told them the crime was consummated.

In the afternoon the queen asked to see Clery, who had remained with Louis XVI. till his last moments, and whom he had perhaps charged with some commission to her. The two other princesses were anxious that she should see Clery, as they hoped the agitation he might occasion would lead her to give way to her grief, and save her from the alarming oppression they saw her suffer.

Clery had received from his master orders to deliver to the queen his marriage-ring, and to say that he had only parted from it with life. He had also committed to him a packet of the hair of all his family, saying, that they had been so dear to him, that he had worn it to the last moment.

The municipaux said that Clery was in a dreadful state of despair on their refusing to let him see the princesses. The queen charged the commissaries to make her request to the General Council; she asked also for mourning. Clery continued another month in the Temple, and was then released.

The prisoners had a little more liberty. The guards believed they were to be sent away. But nothing could calm the anguish of the queen; nor was it possible to inspire her with any hope; life was indifferent to her, and she feared not death. She sometimes looked at her children and her sister with an expression of pity that alarmed them. Fortunately, the distress of the young princess increased her malady to a degree that occasioned a favourable diversion to the despair of her mother. The physician Brunier and the surgeon Lacase came, and her health was restored in the course of a month.

The princesses were allowed to see the persons who brought their mournings, but only in the presence of the municipaux. The queen was unwilling to walk in the garden, because she had to pass the door of the chamber that the king had inhabited, which always occasioned her too much suffering; but fearing the want of air might injure her children, she asked leave the end of February to walk upon the Tower, which was granted. As they passed through the chamber of the municipaux, they perceived the sealed packet which had contained the seal of the king, his ring, and many other things, lying open, the seal broken, and the contents carried off. The municipaux were disturbed for a moment, but said they supposed they had been carried off by some robber, who knew that the seal was set in gold. But the person who had taken these precious things, intended wisely and

was no robber. He had taken them with no other intention than to secure them for the queen, who desired that the seal and ring should be preserved for her son. I know who this brave man was, but, alas! he died for another good action.

Demourier having left France, the prisoners were more strictly confined. A wall was built which separated the garden, grated windows were put in the highest parts of the Tower, and every hole was carefully shut up. On the 25th of March the chimney took fire. In the evening Chaumette, procureur of the Commune, came for the first time to see the queen, and inquired if she desired any thing. She asked only for a door of communication with her sister's apartment. The municipaux opposed this request, but Chaumette said, that, in the declining state of the queen, it might be necessary

for her health, and that he would speak of it to the General Council. The next day he returned at six in the morning, with Pâché the mayor, and the frightful Santerre, commandant-general of the national guard. Chaumette said to the queen, that he had spoken to the General Council of her request for the door, and that it had been refused. Pâche inquired if she had any complaints to make? She answered, No, without paying attention to what he said. A short time after he found among the guard some municipaux who had, from compassion, endeavoured to soften the miseries of the princesses; but they soon discovered with whom they had to do. The queen, particularly, often prevented their committing themselves by trusting to false pretensions of feeling for her.

The persecutions redoubled. Tison was prevented from seeing his daughter, which put him

in bad humour. One evening, upon seeing a stranger who brought clothes to Madame Elizabeth, he became enraged that this man should be allowed entrance, when it was refused to his relations. He said things which, repeated to Pâche, who was below, determined him to summon Tison. He asked why he was so discontented? "*Because I do not see my daughter, and see certain municipaux who do not behave well.*" (Because they spoke low to the queen and Madame Elizabeth.) Pâche inquired their names, which he gave, and affirmed that the princesses had correspondence with persons out of the Temple. Questioned as to his proofs, he said, that one night at supper, the queen, in drawing out her handkerchief, dropped a pencil; and that another day, in the chamber of Madame Elizabeth, he had found wafers and a pen in a box. After this denunciation, which

he signed, they sent for his wife, who repeated the same things. She accused many of the municipaux; asserted that the princesses had had a correspondence with the king during his trial; and she denounced Brunier, physician to young Madame, whom he had attended for an ailment in her foot, as having brought them intelligence. She signed all this under the influence of her husband, but she afterwards suffered great remorse. This denunciation was made on the 19th of April. She saw her daughter the next day. On the 20th, at half-past ten at night, the queen and her daughter were in bed when Hebert arrived with a number of the municipaux. They rose in haste, and heard read a decree of the Commune, which ordered them to be searched at discretion, which was strictly done. The Dauphin was asleep, and they drew him roughly from his bed to search it. His

mother took him in her arms all benumbed with cold. From the queen they took a merchant's address which she had preserved, and from the chamber of Madame Elizabeth, a stick of sealing wax, a consecrated heart of Jesus, and a prayer for France. Their visit did not finish till four in the morning. They made a procès-verbal of all they had taken, and obliged the queen and Madame Elizabeth to sign it, threatening to carry off their children if they refused. They were enraged at having only found trifles. Three days after they returned, and desired to see Madame Elizabeth alone. They interrogated her about a hat that they had found in her chamber. They asked how it had come there, how long she had had it, and why she kept it? She said the king had worn it the first days of his residence in the Temple, and that she had requested it of him to preserve it. The muni-

cipaux said they would take away the hat as a suspicious thing, and though she entreated that she might be allowed to retain it, they would not consent, but forced her to sign her answer, and carried off the hat.

The queen went every day upon the Tower with her children for the benefit of their health. For some days the Dauphin had complained of a stitch in his side, but on the 9th of May, at seven in the evening, he became extremely feverish, with a headach, and the pain in his side continued. The first days of his illness he could not remain in bed, as he breathed with difficulty in a lying posture. His august mother was anxious about him, and solicited a physician of the municipaux. They assured her the illness was nothing, and that her fears arose from maternal affection. Meanwhile they spake of it to the Council, and demanded, on the part of the

queen, the physician Brunier. The council did not believe the Dauphin's illness of any consequence, as Hebert said that he had seen him at five o'clock without fever, and, therefore, they positively refused Brunier,—the same person whom Tison had denounced a short time before.

The Dauphin's fever became very high, and Madame Elizabeth took the place of Madame Royale in the chamber of the queen, that the young princess might not be exposed to the infection of the fever; and to assist her sister in taking care of the invalid. The young princess slept in the chamber of her aunt. The fever continued many days; but the fits were strongest in the evening. The queen often requested a physician, but without success. At length on Sunday, Thierry, physician to the prisons, came, appointed by the Commune to attend the Dau-

phin. As he made his visit in the morning, he found his fever slight, but the queen having desired him to return in the afternoon, he found it very high, and he undeceived the municipaux, who had imagined the queen was disturbed for nothing. He told them, on the contrary, that it was more serious than she thought it. He had even the goodness to go and consult Brunier about the disorder, and the remedies he ought to prescribe, as Brunier knew the constitution of the Dauphin, whom he had had the care of from infancy. He gave him some medicines that did him good. On Wednesday he gave him physic, and in the evening the young princess came to sleep in her mother's apartment, because the last time the Dauphin had taken physic, he had been seized with frightful convulsions, and the queen feared they might return. She did not sleep through the night.

Meanwhile the Dauphin took his medicine easily, which was of service to him, without occasioning any bad consequences. Some days after he took a second dose, which succeeded equally well, except that he found himself heated.

He had now only some slight fits of fever from time to time, and sometimes the stitch in his side; but from this period his health began to alter, and was never afterwards re-established. The want of air and exercise did him much injury; and likewise the kind of life this poor infant led, who, at the age of eight years, was always in the midst of tears, sorrow, distractions, and continual terrors.

The 31st of May, the princesses heard the générale beat, and the tocsin sounded, but their guard would not tell them what occasioned the disturbance. They were forbid to go upon the

Tower, a prohibition that was renewed every time that Paris was in commotion. In the beginning of June, Chaumette came with Hebert at six in the evening, and again asked the queen if she wished for any thing, and if she had no complaints to make? She only replied, No;—but Madame Elizabeth requested of Hebert the hat which he had carried away. He told her the Council did not think it proper to restore it. Madame Elizabeth, observing that Chaumette was not going away, and knowing how much her sister suffered internally in his presence, asked why he had come, and if he would remain? Chaumette answered, that, having to visit the prisons, and all the prisons being equal, he came to the Temple. A few days after the Dauphin swooned, and Thierry again came, accompanied by a surgeon named Soupé, and

another named Julapes. This indisposition had no consequences.

Madame Tison became deranged. She was distressed by the illness of the Dauphin, and for a long time had been tormented by remorse. She drooped, and was unwilling to take the air. She began one day to speak to herself, and this making the young princess laugh, her mother and aunt looked at her with complacency, and with an air of satisfaction, which showed the pleasure they felt in seeing her have a moment of gaiety. But the madness of Madame Tison increased, and she spoke aloud of her faults, of her denunciations, of persons, of scaffolds, of the queen, of her family and their misfortunes. She believed that the persons she had denounced had perished, and considered herself as unworthy, by her crimes, to approach the princesses. Every day she expected the munici-

paux that she had accused, and not seeing them, she retired to bed still more sorrowful. She had frightful dreams that made her utter cries, which the prisoners heard. The municipaux permitted her to see her daughter, to whom she had always been extremely attached. One day the porter, who did not know of this order, refused her admission. The municipaux, seeing the distraction of the mother upon this disappointment, sent for the girl at six in the evening; but her coming at this unexpected hour, frightened her still more, and she could hardly summon resolution to go down to her. On the stairs she said to her husband, that they were conducting her to prison. Even when she saw her daughter, she could not recognise her, and still imagined that they wished to arrest her. She returned up stairs with a municipal, and in the middle of them stopped, and would neither

ascend nor descend. The municipal, alarmed, called for assistance to carry her up. Having reached the top, she would not retire to bed, and did nothing but talk and cry, which prevented the princesses from sleeping. The next day the physician saw her, and found her perfectly insane. She was continually at the feet of the queen entreating pardon, and it was impossible to show more compassion, than the queen and Madame Elizabeth did towards this woman, with whom they certainly had no reason to be pleased. They endeavoured to calm her by the sincere assurance of their pardon, and took every care of her all the time she remained in the Temple. The next day she was taken from the Tower and put in the Castle, but her madness increased more and more, and she was conveyed to the Hotel-Dieu, where the wife of one of the police was placed beside

her, to collect all she might say in her delirium respecting the royal family.

The 3d of July, a decree of the Convention was read to the prisoners, which announced, that the Dauphin should be separated from his family, and put into the most secure apartment of the Tower. Scarcely had the young prince heard this pronounced, before he threw himself into the arms of his mother, uttering loud shrieks, and entreating that he might not be separated from her. The unhappy queen, on her part, was wholly overwhelmed by this cruel order. She would not surrender her son, and defended the bed where she had placed him against the municipaux; but they determined to have him, threatened to call up the guard, and employ violence. The queen answered, they should kill her rather than tear her child from her. An hour passed thus, in resistance

on her part, abuse and menaces on theirs, and in tears and prayers from the other princesses. At length, they threatened so positively to murder the infant if he was not delivered to them, that maternal tenderness determined her to make the sacrifice. Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale lifted the Dauphin, for his poor mother had no longer strength; but after he was dressed, she again took him, and delivering him into the hands of the municipaux, bathed him with her tears, foreseeing that she would never see him more! The poor child embraced very tenderly his mother, aunt, and sister, and went in tears with the municipaux. The queen charged them to implore the General Council to allow her to see her son, were it only at the hours of repast. They undertook the commission. She was overpowered by the misfortune of being thus separated from him, but her

despair was complete, when she learned that a certain Simon, a shoemaker, whom she had already seen at the Temple as a municipal, had the charge of her unfortunate son. She incessantly entreated to see him, but in vain. The Dauphin wept two days, wholly inconsolable, and prayed without ceasing to see his family.

The municipaux remained no longer in the apartment of the queen, and she continued day and night secured by bolts, with Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale; but it was an abatement of their misery to be relieved from such people. The guards came only three times a day to bring them food, to examine the windows, and to see if the bars were unaltered. The princesses had nobody to serve them, and they found themselves the less unhappy. Madame Elizabeth and the young princess made the beds and served the queen. They went

very often upon the Tower, because the Dauphin also walked on his side of it, and the sole pleasure of the queen was to see him pass, though only by a small and distant opening in the wall. She remained whole hours to watch the instant of seeing this infant pass. She seldom heard of him except from the municipaux or Tison, who sometimes saw Simon. Tison endeavoured to repair his past conduct, and acquainted the princesses with all he knew of the Dauphin. As to Simon, he treated him worse than can be imagined, and the more because he wept at being separated from his family. He subdued him at last to such a degree, that he durst not shed a tear. Madame Elizabeth, who was not ignorant of all this, engaged Tison, and those who gave her intelligence of him, to conceal these horrid circumstances from the queen, who, notwithstanding, knew or suspected them enough.

One day, a rumour was spread, and even reached the Convention, that the Dauphin had been seen on the Boulevards. The guards of the Temple, who did not see him, reported that he was dead, and, alas! the princesses had, for an instant, the hope that it might be true! But all were quickly undeceived—the Convention ordered that he should descend into the garden to be seen. Then the young prince, whose faculties they had not yet had time to destroy entirely, complained of being separated from his mother, but he was silenced. As soon as the members of the Convention, who had been sent to ascertain the existence of the Dauphin, had gone up to the queen's apartment, she complained to them of the cruelty of depriving her of her son. They said it had been thought necessary to take that measure. A new procureur-général had been named, who

came also to see the prisoners. His manners astonished them, notwithstanding all they had seen since their misfortunes. From the moment this man entered the room, till the moment he departed, he did nothing but swear.

On the 2d of August, at two in the morning, the prisoners were awaked, that the queen might hear a decree of the Convention, which ordered, upon the requisition of the procureur of the Commune, that she was to be conducted to the Conciergerie, in order to take her trial. She heard the reading of this decree without emotion, without saying a single word; but Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale instantly requested to be allowed to follow the queen, which was refused. During the time the queen was making up a parcel of her clothes, the municipaux never left her, and she was even obliged to dress herself before them.

They demanded her pockets, which they searched, and took every thing they contained, though there was nothing of importance. They made them up in a packet to be sent to the revolutionary tribunal, and told the queen that this packet would be opened before her. They only left her handkerchief and a smelling-bottle. The queen being ready, embraced her daughter, and made her promise to preserve all her fortitude; she enjoined her to take care of her aunt, and to obey her as a second mother. She then threw herself into the arms of her sister, recommending her children to her care. The young princess was so much shocked, and her affliction so overwhelming, in separating from her mother, that she had not the power to reply to her. At last, Madame Elizabeth having said some words in the ear of the queen, she departed without venturing again to look at her

daughter, lest it might deprive her of all firmness. She was obliged to stop at the bottom of the Tower, as the municipaux wished to make a procès-verbal of the discharge of their prisoner. In coming out she struck her head upon the wicket, from not remembering to stoop, and when they asked if she had received any harm? "O, no," she replied, "nothing now can do me more harm." She ascended the carriage with a municipal and two gendarmes, and when arrived at the Conciergerie, they put her into the dirtiest, dampest, and most unwholesome room in the house. There was always a gendarme in it, who never quitted it day or night!

Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale were inconsolable, and passed many days and many nights in tears; yet when the queen set out, Madame Elizabeth had been assured that nothing would happen to her.

It was a great comfort to Madame Royale, not to be separated from her aunt, whom she tenderly loved, but, alas! all around her were to perish!

The day after the departure of the queen, Madame Elizabeth earnestly solicited to be reunited to her, but could not succeed, nor could even gain any intelligence respecting her. As she knew the queen never drank any thing but water, and could not drink that of the Seine, as it made her ill, she prayed the municipaux to send her some of the Ville d'Avray, which was daily carried past the Temple. They consented, and an order was accordingly given, but one of their colleagues opposed it, and the order had no effect.

A few days after, the queen, in order to hear of her daughter and Madame Elizabeth, attempted to send to the Temple for some things

which she required, and, amongst others, her knitting materials, as she had engaged to make a pair of stockings for the Dauphin. The princesses sent them and every thing they could find of silk or wool, as they knew how much the queen liked to employ herself. They remembered how, in happier times, she never ceased to work, but during theatrical representations. All their cares were lost, for nothing was delivered to the queen of all that they had sent. They even knew that they had been retained from the apprehension that she might make use of the knitting needles to shorten her days.

The two prisoners had for some time intelligence of the Dauphin from the municipaux, but this did not last. The princesses heard him sing every day with Simon the *Carmagnole*, the *Marseillais Hymn*, and other horrible songs. Simon put on his head the bonnet

rouge, and dressed him in a carmagnole. He made him sing at the windows, that he might be heard by the guard, and taught him to pronounce frightful oaths against God, his family, and the aristocrats. * Happily the queen did not know of these shocking proceedings, as she was gone before Simon had taught the Dauphin this impious language. This was a suffering from which Heaven preserved her!

Before the queen left the Temple, a messenger had come for the clothes of the Dauphin, and on this occasion she requested that the son of Louis XVI. should not leave off his mourning; but the first thing that Simon did, was to take from him his black dress. Change of life and bad treatment made him fall ill the end of

* The infamous Simon lost his life upon the scaffold on the 29th of June 1794.

August. Simon made him eat to excess, and forced him to drink a great deal of wine, although he hated it. This regimen very soon produced a fever; he took a medicine which did not succeed, and his health became wholly disordered. He was extremely fat without growing taller. Simon still led him to take the air upon the Tower.

At the beginning of September, Madame Royale had an indisposition, which was entirely occasioned by anxiety about the fate of her mother, and she never heard the drums beat without fearing a new 2d of September. She went daily upon the Tower with her aunt. The municipaux visited them three times a day; but this severity did not prevent the prisoners from sometimes gaining information, particularly of the queen, who interested them the most. In spite of all the efforts of these men, whom no

pity could touch, they always found some good hearts they could interest to serve them. They learned that the queen was accused of holding correspondence with foreign powers. Instantly they threw away their writings, their pencils, and all they had yet retained, fearing they might be made to undress before the wife of Simon, and that the things they had might endanger the queen, for they had always preserved pens, ink, and paper, notwithstanding the rigorous search that had so often been made in their chambers. They were also informed, that the queen might have escaped from the Conciergerie. The wife of the keeper was not insensible to her misfortunes, and had taken all the care of her in her power.

The municipaux still came to ask linen for the queen, but would give no information about her health. They took away the pieces

of tapestry the queen had worked, and even those upon which the princesses were employed, believing that in these works there might be some mysterious characters, and a peculiar manner of writing.

On the 21st of September, at one in the morning, Hebert arrived with some municipaux to execute a decree of the Commune, which ordered, that the two prisoners should be more closely confined than they had hitherto been; that they should have only one chamber; that they should be reduced to the simplest necessaries: that an opening should be made in their door, by which they could receive their food; and that except the bearers of wood and water, nobody should enter their chamber. It was also ordered, that Tison, who till now had done the common work, should be imprisoned in the turret.

The making an opening in the door did not take place, and the municipaux continued to come three times a day to examine carefully the windows, closets, and drawers. The prisoners made their own beds, and swept their chamber, an employment which took up a long time, from want of practice. Hebert said to Madame Elizabeth, that, in the French Republic, equality was the first of laws, and that, in the other prisons, the prisoners had nobody to serve them.

In order to treat them with more rigour, the smallest conveniences were taken from them; for example, an easy-chair that Madame Elizabeth had used, and many other things. When their meals were brought, the door was abruptly shut, that they might not see who came. They could no longer gain any intelligence, except by the hawkers, whose cries they heard.

They were forbid to go upon the Tower, and were deprived of the large sheets which they possessed, lest, in spite of the bars, they might descend by them from the windows. This was the pretext, but the real motive of the change was to give them very coarse and dirty sheets.

I believe it was at this moment the trial of the queen commenced. I have learned since her death, that there was a design formed to deliver her from the Conciergerie, but unfortunately it did not succeed. I have been assured, that the gendarmes who guarded her, and the wife of the keeper, had been gained, and that she found many persons in the Conciergerie devoted to her. Among others, a priest, who administered the sacrament to her, which she received with great piety.

The project of delivering her failed once, because she had been desired to speak to the

second guard, and by a mistake she spoke to the first. Another time she was out of her chamber, and had passed the Corridor, when a gendarme opposed himself to her departure, and obliged her to return, which occasioned the failure of the enterprise. These attempts ought not to excite surprise, when one reflects, that all good people were interested in the queen, and, with the exception of those vile and ferocious beings who then ruled, every one who had had the happiness of seeing and approaching her, even for a few moments, were penetrated with respect for her,—so much did her goodness temper the awe which the dignity of her deportment inspired.

Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale knew none of these occurrences at the time; they only learned that the queen had seen a Chevalier de St Louis, who had given her a

flower in which there was a billet; but, shut up as they were, they could not learn the sequel of this event.*

Every day they were visited, and searched by the municipaux. On the 4th of September they came at four in the morning to make a complete examination, and to take away the plate

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* M. Hue gives the detail. The Chevalier de St Louis was named Rougeville. Having contrived to be invited to dine at the house of Michonis, municipal, and one of the administrators of the prisons in Paris, he had the address to obtain from him permission to see the queen. Under the pretext of the fete of a lady, he provided himself with a bouquet, in which he concealed a billet, saying, "*I have at your command men and money.*" As soon as he was near the queen, he offered her the flower, warned by a glance that it contained a billet; she had already read it, and written with a pin an answer in the negative, when a guard entered suddenly and seized it. All was then discovered. M. de Rougeville escaped, but Michonis died on the scaffold.

and porcelain. They carried off the little that remained; and not being able to find all they expected, they accused the prisoners of having stolen it.—Princesses accused of theft! What indignity! It was their colleagues who were the thieves, but they were ignorant of it. They found behind the drawers of Madame Elizabeth's dressing table a rouleau of Louis, which they seized with extraordinary avidity. They questioned her strictly to discover from whom she had got this gold, how long she had had it, and for what purpose she had kept it? She said it was given to her by Madame de Lamballe after the 10th of August, and, notwithstanding the searches that had been made, she had always preserved it. They inquired who had given it to Madame de Lamballe? To this she replied, That she did not know.

The fact was, that the woman of Madame

Lamballe had found means of sending it to her in the Temple, and she gave it to the royal family. They also interrogated Madame Royale, and demanded her name, as if they had not known it, and made her sign the procès-verbal.

On the 8th of October at noon, while the princesses were putting their chamber in order and dressing themselves, Pâche, Chaumette, and David, members of the Convention, arrived with many of the municipaux. Madame Elizabeth did not open the door till she was dressed. Pâche, turning towards the young princess, requested her to descend; her aunt wished to follow, but they prevented her. She asked if her niece would return. Chaumette assured her of it, saying, "*you may rely on the word of a good republican that she shall return.*" She embraced her aunt, who was wholly overcome, and descended extremely embarrassed at finding her-

self for the first time alone with men. She did not know what they intended, but she recommended herself to God. In descending the stairs, Chaumette wished to show her civilities, but she feigned not to observe them, and very soon arrived in the chamber of her brother, whom she tenderly embraced;—but they tore him from her arms, telling him to go into the other chamber.

Chaumette desired her to seat herself, which she did, and he placed himself opposite to her, while a municipal took a pen. Chaumette asked her name. After that question, it was Hebert who interrogated her. He began thus: "Tell the truth; it does not regard you or your relations." "*Does it not regard my mother?*" "No; but persons who have not done their duty. Do you know the citizens Toulan, Le Pitre, Breno, Brugnot, Merle, Michonis?"

"*No, Monsieur.*" "That is false. Particularly Toulan, that young little man who came often for the service of the Temple?" "*I know him no more than the others.*" "Do you remember one day when you remained alone with your brother in the turret?" "*Yes.*" "Your parents had put you there that they might speak more at their ease with these people?" "*No, Monsieur, but to accustom us to the cold.*" "What did you do in the turret?" "*We talked and played.*" "In coming out, did you perceive what these people brought to your parents?" "*I did not observe any thing.*"

Chaumette interrogated her afterwards about many detestable things, of which they accused her mother and aunt. She was seized with such horror, and so indignant at their questions, that, notwithstanding her fear of them, she could not prevent herself from saying it was infamous.

And, although tears then filled her eyes, he only insisted the more strongly upon what he had said, and put many questions to her which she could not comprehend; but she understood enough to make her weep with indignation. He then questioned her about Varennes, and made many inquiries, which she answered as well as she could, without committing any one. She had always heard her parents say, that it was better to die, than to involve others, whoever they might be. At length the examination finished about three o'clock, and had lasted from noon. She ardently entreated Chaumette to reunite her to her mother, saying with truth, that she and her aunt had asked it many times. "I can do nothing in it," he said. "*What, Monsieur, cannot you obtain it from the General Council?*" "I have no authority there." He then desired three of the municipaux to recon-

duct her to her chamber, advising her to say nothing to her aunt, whom they meant to send for.

On returning to her chamber, she threw herself into the arms of her aunt, but they quickly separated them to make Madame Elizabeth descend. They put the same questions to her as to Madame Royale, respecting the persons already named. She said she knew the names and faces of those municipaux, and others they mentioned; but that she had had no intercourse with them. She denied all correspondence out of the Temple, and treated with still more contempt the base things about which they questioned her. She returned at four o'clock. Her examination lasted but one hour, because the deputies saw that they could not intimidate her as they had hoped to do a young person. But they deceived themselves in this; they forgot

that the life which Madame Royale had led for four years, and, above all, the magnanimous example of her parents, had given her an energy and strength of mind far above her years.

Chaumette had assured the princesses that their interrogatories had no relation to the queen, and that she would not be tried. Alas! he had deceived them, for her trial commenced almost immediately, and she perished without its being known to the princesses.

They only learned afterwards a few of the circumstances attending this infamous sentence. First, the names of her two defenders. Simon and Mathieu, the gaolers of the Temple, had been examined, and many good people whom the queen was distressed to see involved on her account. They learned that the physician Brunier had been brought before the tribunal. He was asked if he knew the queen? "Yes." "Since

when?" "*Since the* 1788, *when the queen entrusted to my care the health of her children.*" When you went to the Temple, did you assist the prisoners in corresponding with persons out of it?" The queen then said, "*The physician Brunier, as you know, never came to the Temple but accompanied by a municipal, and we only spoke to him in his presence.*"

The princesses heard the examination had lasted three days and three nights without interruption. They put questions to her of all kinds upon the most degrading subjects. The fine answer she gave to one of the most atrocious is well known. The people were affected by it, and the judges hastened to condemn her, because they were afraid of the effect which her spirit, her firmness, and dignity, might produce. She heard her sentence with great calmness.

They gave her a sworn priest* to attend her in her last moments. Whatever he said to her, after she had refused him with gentleness, she no longer listened to, and would not accept of his ministry. She knelt and prayed to God alone for a long time.† She then lay down and slept for some hours. The next day, knowing that the Curé de Sancte-Marguerite was in the prison opposite to her, she approached her window, looked at his, and knelt down. It is said he gave her absolution and his benediction. Then, having made the sacrifice of life, she went to meet death with courage amidst the imprecations of an infatuated people. Her for-

* A priest who had sworn to be faithful to the new constitution.

† See a Historical Account of the Will of the Queen, published by Audot, Rue de Mathurins, Saint-Jaques, No. 18, Paris. As also the Supplement to the Historical Account.

titude did not desert her either in the cart or on the scaffold. She displayed it as much at her death as she had done during her life.

Thus died, on the 16th of October 1793, Marie-Antoinette-Josephe-Jeanne de Lorraine, daughter of an emperor, and wife of a king. She was aged thirty-seven years, eleven months, and had been twenty-three years in France. She died eight months after Louis XVI.

The princesses could not persuade themselves that the queen was dead, although they had heard her condemnation cried by the hawkers. Hope, so natural to the unhappy, made them believe she had been saved.

There were moments in which, notwithstanding their hope in the foreign powers, they had the most distressing apprehensions about her, seeing the rage of the unhappy people against all her family. Madame Royale re-

mained in this cruel uncertainty during a year and a half.

The princesses learned by the hawkers the death of the Duc d'Orleans. This was the only news which reached them during the winter. It gave them a momentary hope; but the searches very soon recommenced, and they were treated with still greater severity.

Madame Elizabeth, who had, since the revolution, an issue in her arm, was a long time Refused what was necessary for it. At length, a municipal one day remonstrated against the inhumanity of such conduct, and sent to seek an ointment. They also deprived the Princess Royale of the means of providing the juice of some herbs, which she took every morning for her health. Having no longer fish for maigre days, they requested eggs, and other maigre dishes. They were refused; and told that

equality did not permit any difference of days. There were no longer weeks, but decades, and they brought them a new almanack.

Another day, when she asked for a maigre diet, they said, *" But citizen, knowest thou not then what is passing? There are none but fools now who believe in all that!"* She made no more requests. Searches always continued; in the month of November, particularly, they were ordered to be made three times a day. One of them lasted from four o'clock till half past eight in the evening. The four municipaux who made it were quite drunk. No one can imagine their conversation, their abuse, and their oaths, during these four hours! They carried away trifles, such as hats, kings from packs of cards, and all the books that had coats of arms in them, but left religious works, after having lavished on them a thousand impurities and absurdities.

Simon accused the princesses of making false assignats, and having correspondence abroad. He pretended they had communication with the king during his trial. Simon made a declaration of it in the name of the poor little Dauphin, whom he forced to sign this falsehood. The noise that he pretended to be that of the false money, which he accused them of making, was that of their tric-trac, as Madame Elizabeth, to interrupt her niece's melancholy thoughts, had taught her this game. They played in the evenings during winter, which passed quietly, notwithstanding the examinations, the visits, and the searches. They allowed them wood, which they had at first refused.

The 19th of January, they heard a great noise in the Dauphin's apartment, which led them to conjecture he was going to be taken from

the Temple; and they were the more convinced of this, when, looking through the key hole, they saw them carrying away luggage. Some days after, they heard his door open, and steps in his chamber, and being persuaded that he was removed, they imagined they had put below some person of consequence. It was, however, Simon that had left the Temple. Obliged to chuse between the place of a municipal, and that of guard to the Dauphin, he had preferred the first, and they had had the cruelty to leave the infant alone. Unheard of barbarity! which never had an example—to leave thus, an unfortunate child of eight years, already sick, and keep him shut up under keys and bolts, without any succour, except a bad bell, which he never pulled, from terror of the people it would summon;—preferring every deprivation rather than to ask any thing of his persecutors.

He lay in a bed that had not been made for more than six months, and he had no longer strength to do it for himself. It was covered with fleas and bugs, and his linen and person were full of them. They had not changed his shirt or stockings for more than a year. His excrements remained in his chamber, and had never been carried away during all that time. His window, fastened with bars and padlocks, was never opened, and it was impossible to remain in his chamber, from the poisonous air. He might perhaps have washed himself, as he had a pitcher of water, and made himself a little better, but, subdued by bad treatment, he had no longer the spirit, and his illness began to deprive him of all strength. He asked for nothing, so much did he dread Simon and his other keepers. He passed the days in doing nothing, and they allowed him no lights. This

situation affected his mental as much as his physical state, and it is not wonderful that he fell into a frightful decay. The length of time he preserved his health, and resisted so many cruelties, proves the natural goodness of his constitution.

Madame Elizabeth observed the whole of Lent. She took no breakfast, and made her dinner of a cup of coffee or milk; it was her breakfast which she reserved; and in the evening she ate a little bread; but she made Madame Royale eat whatever was given her, because, at her age, she could not bear abstinence. The refusal of *maigre* dishes to Madame Elizabeth, did not induce her to interrupt the duties prescribed by religion, and nothing could be more exemplary than her manner of living.

At the beginning of spring, the prisoners

were deprived of candles, and they went to bed when they could no longer see.

Till the 9th of May, nothing remarkable occurred. On that day, at the moment the princesses were going to bed, they heard the bolts drawn, and a knock at their door. Madame Elizabeth prayed them to wait till she could throw on her robe. They answered, *that* could not take a long time, and struck so violently that they expected the door would be burst open. She opened as soon as she was dressed, and they immediately said, Citizen, will you be pleased to descend? "*And my niece?*" "They will think of her afterwards." She embraced her niece, and desired her to calm herself, as she would come up again. "No, citizen," they said, "thou wilt not come up again, so take thy bonnet and descend." They loaded her with the grossest abuse. She bore it

with patience, embraced again her niece, desired her to preserve courage and firmness, always to trust in God, and to support herself with the excellent principles of religion which her parents had given her, and never to forget the last injunctions of her father and mother. She then departed, but was long detained below, as the municipaux made a procès-verbal of her leaving the Temple. They demanded her pockets, in which there was nothing, and after again hearing the most abusive language, she set out with the summoner of the tribunal in a hackney coach, and arrived at the Conciergerie, where she passed the night.

The next day they put three questions to her. Her name? "*Elizabeth of France.*" "Where wast thou on the 10th of August?" "*At the palace of the Thuilleries with the king, my brother.*" "What hast thou made of thy diamonds?"

"*I know not. These questions are useless. You wish my death: I have made to God the sacrifice of my life, and I am ready to die,—happy in going to rejoin my admirable relations, whom I loved so much upon earth!*"

They condemned her to death. She made herself be conducted into the chamber of those who were to die with her. She exhorted them with a presence of mind, an elevation and energy which inspired them with fortitude. In the court she had the same calmness, and encouraged the women who were with her. Arrived at the foot of the scaffold, they had the cruelty to make her the last to suffer. All the women, in descending from the cart, requested permission to embrace her, which she granted, encouraging them with her usual goodness. Her firmness did not abandon her to the last moment, which she sustained with a resignation full of piety.

Her soul was separated from her body, to go and enjoy that happiness in the bosom of God, of which she was so worthy!

Marie-Phillipine-Elizabeth-Helene, sister of the king, Louis XVI., died the 10th of May 1794, having always been a model of virtue. From the age of fifteen, she devoted herself to God, and thought only of her salvation. From the year 1790, when I was more in a situation to appreciate her, I could only discern in her piety, love of God, horror at sin, sweetness, modesty, and great attachment to her family, for whom she has sacrificed her life, having never wished to part from the king and queen. In fine, she was a princess worthy of the blood from which she sprung.*

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* It is said that Madame Royale resembled her in figure, but what is more certain is, that her niece inherits the cha-

One cannot form an idea of the desolation of Madame Royale when she saw herself separated from her august companion. She knew not what had become of her, and they would not inform her. She passed a terrible night, and, though so much disturbed, she was far from imagining her death was so near. When she reflected on the manner in which she had been taken away, she had the most terrible apprehensions, yet she endeavoured to persuade herself that they would send her out of France. The next day she asked the municipaux what had become of her aunt. They answered, she had gone to take the air. She said to them, that, since she was separated from her aunt, she

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racter and virtues of her aunt, after having received from her the instructions and all the cares of a mother.—(*Note of the Editor.*)

begged to be reunited to her mother. They replied, that they would speak of it. They brought her afterwards the key of the closet which contained the linen of Madame Elizabeth, and she requested them to carry her some, as she had none with her. They told her that they could not do it.

She often entreated the municipaux that she might be allowed to rejoin her mother, and that they would give her information about her aunt; but they always replied, that they would speak of it. At length, seeing these demands were fruitless, and remembering that her aunt had said, that, if ever she was left alone, she ought to demand a female attendant, she made the request in obedience to her injunction, though with repugnance, as she was certain of being either refused, or attended by a wicked woman, such as they would choose to send her. She

made the demand of the municipaux, and was told that she had no occasion for an attendant. They redoubled their severity towards her, and took from her knives which had been restored, and made her submit to an interrogatory on the subject of a steel for striking light, of which they wished to deprive her. Such scenes were often renewed, but the princess never spoke except when they directly put some question to her.

The Dauphin always remained alone without being cleaned. They never entered his room but with his food, and had no pity for this unhappy child. There was among the guard one man alone, whose good manners induced Madame Royale to recommend her brother to him. He dared to remonstrate against the severity with which the Dauphin was treated, and was dismissed the next day. For herself she ask-

ed nothing of these people but the merest necessaries, and even these were often refused with harshness. She was enabled, however, to keep herself clean, for she had soap and water. She swept her chamber every day. She had no candles, but in the long days she suffered less from this privation. They would no longer give her any books. She had some religious works and travels that she had read many times; she had also knitting, of which she tired extremely.

The 9th of Thermidor arrived. Madame Royale heard the générale beat, the tocsin sounded, and was very much alarmed. The municipaux who were in the Temple did not move. When they brought her dinner she did not dare to ask what was passing; but at length, on the 10th of Thermidor, at six o'clock in the morning, she heard a frightful noise at the

Temple; the guard called "To arms;" the drums beat, and the gates were opened and shut with noise. All this racket was occasioned by a visit of the members of the National Assembly, who came to see if all was tranquil. She heard the bolts drawn of her brother's door, which they opened. She rose, and was dressed against the time the members of the Convention came to her chamber. It was Barras and many others. They were in their grand costume, which surprised the princess not a little, who was not accustomed to see them thus. Barras called her by her name, and was astonished to find her up. They went away, and she heard them harangue the guards under the windows, recommending to them to be faithful to the National Convention. A thousand cries were raised of *Vive la Republique! Vive la Convention!* The guard was doubled. The three municipaux

who were in the Temple remained in it eight days. At the end of the third day, at half-past nine, when she was in bed, having no light, and not sleeping from anxiety about what was passing, they knocked at her door to present to her Laurent, commissaire of the Convention, who was now to guard her and her brother.

The next day, at ten o'clock, Laurent entered her chamber, and asked, with politeness, if she wanted any thing. He came every day three times to her chamber, always with good breeding, never said *thou* or *thee*, and never made an examination of the cabinets and drawers.

The Convention sent, at the end of three days, a deputation to ascertain the state of the Dauphin. The members who were sent felt pity, and ordered that he should be better treated. Laurent made another bed be brought down to him, his own being full of bugs. He

made him be bathed, which removed the vermin with which he was covered, but they still left him alone in his chamber.

Madame Royale very soon asked Laurent for intelligence of her mother and aunt, of whose death she was yet ignorant. He said to her, with a look of distress, that he had nothing to do with them.

The next day came people in scarfs, to whom she put the same questions. They also told her, that that was not their business, and they did not know why she asked to go out, since it appeared to them that she was very well. "*It is terrible,*" she said to them, "*to be separated from my mother for more than a year, without having heard either of her or of my aunt.*"—"You are not ill?"—"*No, Monsieur, but the most cruel malady is that of the heart.*"—"I assure you we can do nothing re-

specting it, and I advise you to have patience, and hope in the justice and goodness of the French."

She was endangered by the explosion of Grenelle, which alarmed her extremely. During all this time, her brother remained alone. Laurent visited him daily three times, but, from the fear of endangering himself, he could not do all that he wished, as he was watched. He could pay more attention to Madame Royale, who had the utmost reason to be pleased with his behaviour during the time he was in the Temple. He often asked if she wanted any thing; prayed her to tell him whatever she wished for, and to ring the bell for what she required. He gave her a tinderbox and a candle.

In the beginning of November civil commissaries, that is to say, a man from each section,

came to pass twenty-four hours in the Temple, in order to ascertain the state of the Dauphin. There came also another commissary, named Gomier, to remain with Laurent. He paid great attention to the young Louis XVII. For a long time they had allowed this unfortunate child to be without light at the close of day. Gomier obtained it for him, and even passed some hours in amusing him. Gomier immediately perceived that his knees and wrists were swelled, and thought he was in danger of becoming ricketty. He spoke to the committee, and demanded that he should go into the garden to take exercise. He made him at first go down from his chamber to the small saloon, which pleased the child extremely, as he loved change of place. He was soon sensible of the attentions of Gomier, was affected by them, and attached himself to him. This unfortunate

child had for a long time been only accustomed to the worst treatment. There never was an example of such barbarity towards an infant.

The 19th of December, the Committee of General Safety came to the Temple on account of his illness. The members came also to Madame Royale, but said nothing to her.

The winter passed tranquilly enough. The guards were civil, and even wished to light her fire. They gave her wood at her command, which pleased her. They supplied her with the books she requested, and Laurent had already procured her money. Her greatest misfortune was the not being able to procure information of her mother and her aunt.

During the winter, the Dauphin had some feverish fits; he was always near the fire. Laurent and Gomier persuaded him to go upon the Tower to take the air, but he was scarcely there when he wished to descend, as he was unwilling

to walk. His illness increased, and his knees swelled much.

Laurent went away, and Loine, a good man, was put in his place, who united with Gomier in taking great care of the child. At the commencement of spring, they prevailed on Madame Royale to go on the Tower, which she did. The illness of her brother increased every day,—his strength diminished,—even his mind felt the effects of the cruelty which had been so long exercised towards him. The Committee of General Safety sent the surgeon, Dessault, to take care of him. He undertook to cure him, although he acknowledged his illness to be very dangerous. Dessault died. They appointed for his successor M. Dumangin, and the surgeon Pelletan. They entertained no hope. They gave him, however, medicines which he swallowed with much difficulty. The

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disease happily did not make him suffer much; it was rather a loss of strength, and general decay, than acute pain. He was seized with fever, his strength declined daily, and he expired without a struggle.

Thus died, on the 9th of June 1795, at three in the afternoon, Louis XVII., aged ten years and two months. The commissioners wept for him, so much had he made them love him for his amiable qualities. He possessed much talent. He was not poisoned, as some persons believed; the only poison which abridged his days was dirt, joined to the horrible cruelty exercised towards him.*

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* Here terminates our Memoirs. Madame Royale remained six months in the Temple after the death of her brother, and left it the 19th of December 1795, the day of the seventeenth anniversary of her birth.

M. Hue, in his work entitled, "The Last Years of Louis

M. de Malesherbes left a Journal, which contained the following details of what passed in the Temple between Louis XVI. and him.

As soon as I had permission to enter the chamber of the king, I hastened there. As soon as he perceived me, he quitted a Tacitus which lay open before him on a small table; he pressed me in his arms, his eyes filled, and he said to me, "Your sacrifice is so much the more generous, as you will expose your own life, and will not be able to save mine." I represented to him that I should be in no danger. And, in fulfilling the most sacred duty, I should at the same time obey the impulse of my

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XVI.," recounts what passed relative to this event, and all that he was able to learn of the last months of the captivity of this illustrious prisoner.

heart; and hoped, by defending him victoriously, that we should save him. He replied, "*They will destroy me, I am certain. They have the power and the will. No matter, let us employ ourselves with my trial as if I were to gain it; and I shall gain it in effect, since I shall leave a memory without stain. But, when will the two counsellors come?*"

He had seen Tronchet at the Constitutional Assembly, but did not know Desèze. He asked some questions respecting him, and appeared much satisfied with the information I gave him.

Every day he worked with us in the examination of papers, the consideration of means, and the refutation of accusation, with a présence of mind and composure which his defenders admired as much as myself. It was of the utmost advantage, by enabling them to take notes, and

elucidate their subject. The counsellors and I believed we had grounds to hope for banishment. We communicated this idea to him, we supported it, and it served to lessen his anxieties. He indulged the idea for some days, but the reading of the public papers undeceived him, and he convinced us it must be renounced. When Desèze had finished his pleading, he read it to us. I have not heard any thing more pathetic than the peroration; we were affected even to tears. The king said to him, "*That must be suppressed; I do not wish to melt them.*" Another time that we were alone, this prince said, "*I feel a great difficulty. Desèze and Tronchet owe me nothing. They give me their time, their labour, and perhaps their lives; how can I recompence such service? I have no longer any thing. Were I to bequeath them a legacy, it would not be paid;*

besides, it is not money that acquits such a debt." "Sire," said I, "their own conscience and posterity will take the charge of their recompence. But you can already grant them one which will repay them." "*What?*" "Embrace them, Sire." The next day, the king pressed them to his breast, and both melted into tears in kneeling to kiss his hand.

The day of the sentence approached. He said to me one morning, "My sister has informed me of a good priest, who has not taken the oaths, and whose obscurity has preserved him from persecution. Here is his address; I beg you will go and speak to him, and prepare him to come when they will allow me to see him." He added, "*This is a strange commission for a philosopher, for I know what you are; but if you suffered as much as I have suffered,* and that you were to die, as I am going to do,

I should wish you the same sentiments of religion, which would support and console you much better than philosophy. My dear Monsieur de Malesherbes, it is with my whole heart that I pray God to enlighten you."

After the sitting, at which his defenders and he had been heard at the bar, he said to me, "You now see, that from the first moment I did not deceive myself, and that my condemnation had been pronounced before I had been heard."

When I returned from the Assembly, where I had demanded an appeal to the people, and where we had all three spoken, I told him, that in coming out I had been surrounded by a great number of persons, who had assured me, that he should not perish, or at least, it should only be after them and their friends. He said to me, "Do you know them? Return to the Assem-

bly; endeavour to rejoin them; discover some of them; tell them that I will never pardon them, if there is a single drop of blood spilt for me. I did not wish it should be shed, when perhaps it would have preserved the throne and my life, and I do not repent it."

I was the first to announce to him the decree of death. He was seated with his back turned to a lamp placed upon the chimney. He leaned with his elbows upon the table, his face covered with his hands; the noise I made in entering drew him from his meditation. He looked at me, and rising, said, "For two days I have been occupied in trying to recollect, if I have, in the course of my reign, merited from my subjects the slightest reproach. I swear to you, Monsieur Malesherbes, in all the sincerity of my heart, as a man who goes to appear before God, I have constantly wished the happiness of

my people, and I have never formed a single wish that was contrary to it."

I saw once more this unfortunate monarch. Two municipal officers were standing at his side. He was also standing and reading. One of them said to me, Converse with him, we shall not listen. I assured the king, that the priest he had desired would come. He embraced me, and said, "Death does not terrify me,—I have the utmost confidence in the mercy of God!"

THE END.

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